

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4665

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAKAR 2378

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) SG, CU, UR

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S VISIT: SENGHOR DISCUSSES SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE
IN AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: SENGHOR LOOKS FORWARD TO DISCUSSING WITH SECRETARY
CHALLENGES POSED BY STRENGTHENING OF SOVIET/CUBAN POSITIONS
IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINEA-BISSAU. HAUBELIEVES MODERATE
STATES MAY FEEL NEED TO TILT TOWARD SOVIETS TO PROTECT
OWN INTERESTS. SOVIETS AND FRENCH HAVE BEEN PRESSURING SENEGAL
TO RECOGNIZE PRA, AND MPLA HAS SENT RECENT EMMISSARIES,
CONVINCING SENGHOR THAT SENEGAL IS IN POSITION TO BARGAIN FOR
MORE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT INCLUDING UNITA ELEMENTS.
SENGHOR WILL MAINTAIN DEPARTURE OF CUBAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA
AS PRECONDITION FOR RECOGNITION, BUT MIGHT ACCEPT RETENTION OF
SOVIET TECHNICAL ADVISORS. IF CUBANS MOVED INTO SENEGAL
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FROM GUINEA OR GUINEA-BISSAU, SENGHOR WOULD CALL ON FRENCH TO

HELP DEFEND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING EVENING MEETING APRIL 17 AT HIS WEEKEND RESIDENCE IN POPENGUINE, PRESIDENT SENGHOR SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY AND HAD GIVEN ORDERS FOR GOS TO COOPERATE FULLY ON SECURITY AND OTHER PREPARATIONS. HE TOLD ME SECRETARY'S AFRICAN TRIP WAS TAKING PLACE AT CRITICAL PERIOD IN US RELATIONS WITH CONTINENT. US COULD NOT AFFORD ANOTHER ANGOLAN DISAPPOINTMENT. MODERATE STATES WOULD FEEL KEEN NEED TO TILT TOWARD SOVIETS TO PROTECT THEIR OWN INTERESTS. SOVIETS AND CUBANS WERE STRENGTHENING THEIR POSITIONS NOT ONLY IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE BUT ALSO IN GUINEA-BISSAU. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THAT PROBLEM DURING MAY 1 MEETING AND ALSO HOPED THE SECRETARY WOULD SHARE VIEWS ON PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISTS IN EUROPE, SUBJECT ON WHICH HE HAD SOME EXPERIENCE AS FORMER DEPUTY IN FRENCH FOURTH REPUBLIC AND SOME KNOWLEDGE AND SUGGESTIONS FROM HIS CONTINUING CONTACTS WITH SOCIALISTS THROUGHOUT WESTERN EUROPE.

3. ON ANGOLAN SITUATION, SENGHOR SAID SOVIET AMBASSADOR RECENTLY HAD SPENT HOUR TRYING TO PERSUADE HIM TO RECOGNIZE MPLA REGIME. SENGHOR TOLD HIM THAT WOULD BE DIFFICULT AS LONG AS CUBAN TROOPS WERE THERE. SOVIET AMBASSADOR REPLIED HE WAS COMING AROUND TO POSITION THAT CUBAN TROOPS WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE. IT WAS NOT CLEAR, SENGHOR SAID, WHETHER THIS REPRESENTED SOVIET GOVERNMENT THINKING OR AMBASSADOR'S PERSONAL VIEW. MPLA HAD ALSO SENT HIM SEVERAL MEMORANDUMS DURING PAST MONTH. HE WAS SURPRISED THAT WITH SO MANY AFRICAN RECOGNITIONS ALREADY NETO WOULD BE SO ANXIOUS FOR SENEGAL TO COME AROUND. HOWEVER, THIS CONVINCED HIM OF WISDOM OF SENEGAL'S RETICENCE WHICH HE HOPED COULD BE USED IN BARGAINING FOR MORE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT INCLUDING UNITA ELEMENTS. SENGHOR SAID HE HAD ALSO HAD TO RESIST STRONG FRENCH PRESSURES TO RECOGNIZE MPLA REGIME. HE HAD MANY DISCUSSIONS WITH GISCARD ON SUBJECT AND FOUND HIS OLD FRIEND HIGHLY INTELLIGENT BUT NOT TOUGH AND FIRM ENOUGH. FOR EXAMPLE FRENCH PRESIDENT CHANGED HIS MIND THREE TIMES ON ANGOLAN ISSUE.

4. WHILE SENEGAL WOULD MAINTAIN DEPARTURE OF CUBAN TROOPS AS CONDITION FOR PRA RECOGNITION, GOS MIGHT ACCEPT RETENTION
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OF SOVIET TECHNICAL ADVISORS. SINCE SENEGAL HAD FRENCH ADVISORS AND WOULD SOON HOLD JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO INSIST THAT SOVIET TECHNICIANS LEAVE ANGOLA. WITH SOVIET ADVISORS IN NEIGHBORING GUINEA AND GUINEA-BISSAU, SENGHOR SAID SENEGAL COULD NOT REDUCE FRENCH PRESENCE AS RAPIDLY AS PLANNED. UNLIKE SOME AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS HE DID NOT MAINTAIN FRENCH GARRISON IN HOPE IT WOULD COME TO HIS AID IN CASE OF INTERNAL REBELLION OR ATTACK BY INDIGENOUS

ARMY OF HOSTILE NEIGHBOR. BUT IF CUBANS MOVED IN FROM GUINEA
OR GUINEA-BISSAU, FRENCH WOULD BE CALLED UPON TO HELP HIM
DEFEND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF SENEGAL.
AGGREY

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